UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

Psychological Obstacles to Religious Experience—*Concluded*

By CLARENCE R. SKINNER

An Open Letter to Prime Minister MacDonald

By WALTER WALSH

Wrecking the League?

By DOREMUS SCUDDER

Thoughts of Tolstoy

PART II

VOLUME CVI NUMBER 10

Chicago, November 17, 1930

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

(Established 1878)

A JOURNAL *of the* RELIGION *of* DEMOCRACY

Subscription, $3.00 Per Annum

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, EDITOR IN CHIEF

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

LOUIS L. MANN CURTIS W. REESE

UNITY FELLOWSHIP

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE
ZONA GALE
A. EUSTACE HAYDON
JESSE H. HOLMES
JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE
H. R. MUSSEY
M. C. OTTO
RAYMOND H. PALMER
ALSON H. ROBINSON
CLARENCE R. SKINNER
SYDNEY STRONG
ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

Poetry Editors
LUCIA TRENT
RALPH CHEYNEY

Managing Editor
EDITH LLOYD JONES

Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE

Pamphlet Mission

FOR

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER

IN

RELIGION.

Publishing Committee:

ROBERT COLLYER, Chicago. WM. C. GANNETT, St. Paul.
JENKIN LL. JONES, Jeanerville. C. W. WENDTE, Cincinnati.
J. C. LEARNED, St. Louis.

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.

Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

FRANCIS L. ROBBINS, 65 Washington St., Chicago, - Business Agent.
J. T. SUNDERLAND, 65 Washington St., Chicago, } Editors of
GEO. W. COOKE, Grand Haven, Mich., } "Notes and News."

Editorial Contributors

W. Waldemar W. Argow
Charles E. Beals
Percy M. Dawson
David Starr Jordan
Anna Garlin Spencer
Frederick Starr
Jabez T. Sunderland
James H. West

Foreign Representatives

AUSTRALIA—Charles Strong
AUSTRIA—Stefan Zweig
BULGARIA—P. M. Matthéeff
ENGLAND—Harrison Brown, Fred Hankinson, Walter Walsh
CANADA—Norman Stewart Dowd
FRANCE—G. Demartial, Romain Rolland
GERMANY—Theodor Hahn
INDIA—Rabindranath Tagore
ITALY—Dorothy Walton
JAPAN—Nobuichiro Imaoka
PALESTINE—Hans Kohn
RUSSIA—Alina Huebsch

UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 10, 1930, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

Special Announcement!

UNITY takes pleasure in announcing the serial publication of a book by Leo Tolstoy which has never before appeared in English.

This book by the great Russian consists of original paragraphs, or thoughts, arranged for daily readings.

Translated from the Russian text by Vladimir Tchertkoff and Alice Davis, and adapted for serial publication in these columns by Mr. Holmes, this book is now appearing under the title,

"THOUGHTS OF TOLSTOY"

Subscribe Now! *$3.00 per year*

Unity Publishing Company
700 Oakwood Boulevard Chicago

Contents

EDITORIAL— Page

Notes 147
Psychological Obstacles to Religious Experience (Concluded)—CLARENCE R. SKINNER.. 149
Jottings—J. H. H. 151

ARTICLES—

American Notes—Three Night Scenes—in New York—SYDNEY STRONG 151
Thoughts of Tolstoy—Part II..... 153
An Open Letter to Prime Minister MacDonald—WALTER WALSH 154
Wrecking the League?—DOREMUS SCUDDER.... 156

POETRY—

The Little Gate to God—*Walter Rauschenbusch* 147
Revolt—ELINOR LENNEN 152

THE STUDY TABLE—

High Spots—STANLEY HIGH 158
The Immortal Quaker—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 158

CORRESPONDENCE—

Two New U. S. Stamps—ROBERT WHITAKER. 159
Public Opinion and Peace—HENRIETTE POSNER 159

THE FIELD—

Resolutions of the Twenty-first Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People..... 159
Light in Shadowed Lives—The Sight Saving Class—ALICE F. LOOMIS 160

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CVI MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1930 NUMBER 10

THE LITTLE GATE TO GOD

In the castle of my soul
In a little postern gate,
Whereat, when I enter,
I am in the presence of God,
In a moment, in the turning of a thought,
I am where God is.
This is a fact.

When I enter into God,
All life has a meaning,
Without asking I know,
My desires are even now fulfilled,
My fever is gone
In the great quiet of God.
My troubles are but pebbles on the road,
My joys are like the everlasting hills.

So it is when my soul steps through the postern gate
Into the presence of God.
Big things become small, and small things become great.
The near become far, and the future is near.
The lowly and despised is shot through with glory.
God is the substance of all revolutions,
When I am in Him, I am in the Kingdom of God
And in the Fatherland of my Soul.

—*Walter Rauschenbusch.*

This issue of UNITY is going to press at a time too close to the recent elections to allow of comment upon the results. Such comment must therefore be postponed until next week. This delay has its compensations, as the editor will be writing not hurriedly on the basis of incomplete returns, but after due deliberation upon all the facts and figures.

We would have a good deal more confidence in the administration's plans for unemployment relief, were the Government itself doing what it is asking business to do—namely, keep men at work. This is a great time, for example, to stop work at navy yards and turn thousands of laborers adrift! We have no use for navy yards, half of them should have been closed long ago; we shall rejoice when they all disappear along with battleships, cruisers, and submarines. But since they are now a regular part of the governmental machinery and have been kept going full blast in recent years, why choose this particular hour of unprecedented industrial distress to shut them down? Again, for reasons thus far undisclosed, the Post Office Department is everywhere cutting down the number of its employees. At the very moment when Mr. Hoover's unemployment commission is urging private employers to "stagger" their pay-roll—i. e., take on new workers, and thus distribute shorter hours and curtail wages among a larger number of men—the Government itself is discharging Post Office workers and either reducing the service rendered to the public or adding to the burden of labor carried by those still on the job. Where we live, for example, the number of mail collections has been drastically cut down. In many places the postmen who deliver mail are now charged with the additional task of gathering mail from the street-boxes. Whether the President knows of this procedure or not, we cannot say. But we can say that somebody in authority knows about it, and he ought to be horse-whipped with lashes of presidential anger. For one man discharged at this hour by the Government brands the whole relief policy of Washington with hypocrisy. Personally, we would have as little confidence in what the administration is doing today as in what it did a year ago, when, after the stock crash, it summoned big industrialists to Washington, set up an enormous bally-hoo, and accomplished just exactly nothing at all, were it not for one fact. This fact is Arthur Woods. This man is a gentleman of utter sincerity and tried efficiency. We are immeasurably indebted to President Hoover for putting him in command of the fight against starvation.

There are certain kinds of expenditure which seem to be unaffected by such a period of business depression as this through which we are now passing. Theatres are badly crippled these days; but the football season was celebrated by greater crowds than ever before. Book publishers are distracted by the decline of business, and lecture managers are tearing their hair with anguish; but the opera in New York and Chicago is being sung to crowded houses, and Paderewski is playing the piano at recitals which are stormed by thousands who cannot obtain admission. Churches are finding their plate-offerings falling off and their

pledges hard to collect, but the "movies" are nearly everywhere showing to packed houses. It is difficult to analyze these phenomena and lay bare the forces at work therein. But one thing would seem to be certain, and that is that, in times bad as well as in times good, people continue to do what they really *want* to do. There is always money for the necessities, and the necessities are the things which satisfy the insistent desires of our lives. We can get along without books, but not without football games. We must have excitement—hence the riots at a Paderewski recital! To attend and support opera is to be numbered among the social *elite*—hence an unimpaired season at the Metropolitan! Study the money-expenditures of crowds in the periods of financial panic and business depression, and you have the clearest possible index of what people are and what they live by. The disclosure, it must be confessed, is not exactly heartening. To see the growing breadlines in New York today, and then the football arenas packed with tens of thousands of men and women at $3 per, is to behold the modern version of the old Roman spectacle of "bread and circuses."

We would call to the attention of our readers a bill introduced into the House of Representatives at its last session by Representative Griffin, of New York, designed so to change the naturalization laws of the country that "no person, mentally, morally, and otherwise qualified, shall be debarred from citizenship by reason of his or her religious views or philosophical opinions with respect to the lawfulness of war as a means of settling international disputes." This bill, of course, is a reflection of the conditions revealed by the famous cases of Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, Professor Macintosh, and Miss Martha Graber, who were denied citizenship because of their opposition in varying degrees to war. The Macintosh and Graber cases, it will be remembered, were set right by Judge Martin T. Manton, of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, but appeal to the Supreme Court is threatened and may conceivably be successful. The Schwimmer case is still unadjusted—the distinguished Hungarian feminist and pacifist is a woman without a country! What is needed, to make such outrageous occurrences as these impossible, is legislation which shall definitely remove the question of war opinion from the process of naturalization. This Representative Griffin's bill undertakes to accomplish. It enacts Judge Manton's principle that no conditions should be imposed upon the man or woman applying for citizenship which are not equally imposed upon the man or woman born into citizenship. It furthermore safeguards that basic ideal of our American life, that religious liberty shall be granted in full measure to the individual. "This is not a question," says *Zion's Herald,* in an admirable editorial leader, "of 'boot-leg' patriotism, as not a few hundred-per-centers have declared." On the contrary, it is a question of the basic freedom vouchsafed the citizen under the provisions of our Constitution. We commend Mr. Griffin's bill to the support of all true lovers of peace and righteousness.

News comes from the Philippines that the advocates of independence in those islands are considering the idea of taking a leaf out of Gandhi's book, and reorganizing their movement on the basis of non-violent non-cooperation. The leading spirit of this new undertaking is Manuel Roxas, Speaker of the House of Representatives in Manila, who has just returned from an unsuccessful mission to this country, and who has thus probably learned that he and his fellow-citizens will have to wait for independence till the cows come home if they follow no other policy than that which has been pursued in recent years. That in this new move he means business is shown by the fact that he calls his present organization "Katipunan," which was the name of the old revolutionary society which undertook to overthrow the sovereignty of Spain. Speaker Roxas is reported as saying these days that the Filipinos have hitherto been too apologetic, too polite, too patient, in their work for liberation. Methods of agitation dominated by this spirit make as little progress in America, apparently, as they do in Britain. Gandhi found this out in India, and, with no resort to violence without or to ill-will within, opened up a line of attack which his people are now following to slow but sure success. If the Filipinos really want to get somewhere, if their dreams of independence are to have any fulfilment other than that of fine talk, we cannot imagine their doing a more effective thing than organizing a determined movement for systematic non-cooperation with the United States. The fact that they are already thinking of adopting this program is significant not only as regards themselves but also as regards Gandhi, for it shows conclusively how far-flung is destined to be the influence of the Mahatma and his work not only in the East but also throughout the world. To anybody unblinded by prejudice and fear, it is evident that Gandhi's revolutionary movement marks a new epoch for India. It is not so evident yet, even to the clear-visioned, that his example marks as well a new epoch for the world. If its impact strikes us first through the Philippines, it will be interesting, to say the least.

Soviet Russia may be making many mistakes, and not succeeding over well, but it is struggling with an experiment which is one of the most beneficent as well as daring in history. What the nation is trying to do is to establish a civilization in which *men* and their welfare shall be the central consideration. In America and England and France, and other western coun-

tries, the important thing, of course, is not men but *money*. Nothing counts in our capitalistic life but profits. If profits decline, men must be discharged and starve in idleness. If dividends and wages cannot be paid at one and the same time, the former must be maintained and the latter may be allowed to lapse, for stocks must be held to par though labor perish. It is an axiom in our economic system that everything must begin with wealth. How otherwise can men be kept at work and paid at all? But Russia turns everything upside down by declaring that everything must begin with human beings. Wealth will follow if men and women are kept healthy, happy, and busy. It is this which constitutes the real revolution in the Soviet Union—men supported by wealth, and not wealth supported by men! What wonder that Russia is called "the land of paradox!" Such an idea as that men come before money, that life and not profit is the end and aim of society, is of course a ridiculous paradox from our western point of view. But it may not be a paradox from the cosmic point of view. On the contrary, it may be that eternal truth in the absence of which all civilizations have sooner or later collapsed. If Russia, by dint of the prodigious sacrifice now being made by all the people, succeeds in the Five-Year Plan, and thus establishes her new society upon this new humanitarian basis, a new epoch will be opened in the history of mankind. In the face of such an adventure should not criticism be silenced and faith be all alert?

The great Einstein is a prophet as well as a scientist. True to the sublime traditions of his Jewish heritage, he denounces war and those who participate in war, and urges on the needed work for peace. Thus, in last month's issue of the *Forum,* in an article on "What I Believe," Einstein lashes out against war and militarism with a fury unusual with the scientific mind. Convinced that degeneracy follows inevitably upon the use of violence, he condemns "that vilest offspring of the herd mind, the militia"—i. e., the military, the army!

> The man who enjoys marching in line and file to the strains of music, (continues Einstein) falls below my contempt; he received his great brain by mistake—the spinal cord would have been amply sufficient. This heroism at command, this senseless violence, this accursed bombast of patriotism—how intensely I despise them! War is low and despicable, and I had rather be smitten to shreds than participate in such doings.

This is prophecy worthy of the Hebrew prophets. But there is something more than moral passion in such an utterance as this from such a man. What we have here is the judgment of the trained intellect upon this relic of barbarism called war. The moment we move from the realm of purely physical experience to that of intellectual appreciation, at that moment war becomes impossible. The soldier, be he Foch or Pershing at the top, or the humble *poilu* or doughboy at the bottom, must in the very nature of the case be a child, a savage, an animal. The first process in military training, says General Crozier, in his "A Brass Hat in No Man's Land," is the process of de-humanization. The recruit must be stripped of everything that marks him as a man—among other things, of course, his intellect! Hence the horror that such an intellectual saint as Einstein feels for the whole damnable business. This man sets a standard, so to speak. The more we can move to his level, the more we shall abominate the crime of war.

Psychological Obstacles to Religious Experience

(Concluded)

We have now seen what a complete change has taken place in the attitude of psychology toward religion. This attitude will obviously not represent all psychologists nor will all "men in the street" agree with it. Changes in the intellectual outlook often leave vast numbers of persons unaffected, and this is especially true when religious interests are involved. But despite the fact that the new psychology is accurately understood by only the few, and despite the fact that most people are conservative in the field of religious change, nevertheless there are many re-percussions of this change throughout wide circles, and probably its influence will be felt for a long time to come. Even when people do not accept a theory, they may be profoundly affected by it, and the effect will by no means be restricted to the realm of theological and metaphysical ideas, but will reach to the very heart of religious behavior itself.

Let us illustrate by analogies with some of the similar intellectual changes that have recently transpired in the relation of psychology to marriage and to certain phenomena of crowd behavior.

First, in regard to marriage. It was comparatively easy to "fall" into love of the romantic sort during the middle Victorian era. Few scientists were tearing the experience to pieces and making lovers aware of the sub-conscious motives lying behind their behavior. They idealized each other with easy abandon, and wrote sonnets about the tender passion. Gentlemen bowed before ladies, conversation was delicate and reticent and both parties to the experience lived in a pink haze of idealization. At least so we are taught to believe from the literature of the period.

If the sex-drives were faced frankly we do not hear of the fact. The prevailing attitude was that of withdrawing into a realm of wish-fancy where indeli-

cate and harsh realities were either not recognized or were furtively glanced at out of the corner of guilty eyes.

The change which has been wrought by modern psychology is profound and revolutionary, for the romantic attitude has been reinterpreted as unhealthy, a retreat from reality, an escape mechanism, a process of fooling oneself into believing what is not objectively true, an illusion which has no basis in reality.

Again, not all psychologists agree in this interpretation, and it is not accepted by all the multitude. But the wide-spread effect of this change cannot be denied. We find it a major theme in popular literature, on the stage, and in conversation.

The result of this attitude on the part of large numbers of individuals is that they become skeptical of the romantic love life and even in some cases incapable of it. If they feel the experience of love coming into their lives, they begin to fear that they are simply being fooled by an illusion. While they feel a tremendous pull in the direction of love, they are incapable of giving themselves joyously to it. The critical attitude acts as an inhibition and therefore love as we had it in the Victorian era becomes undesirable and impossible, and this is true not only of persons who believe the new psychology, but it also acts as a retarding influence with many who don't accept it.

The second analogy is to be found in the realm of certain crowd phenomena which has been analyzed by Martin in his classic work "The Behavior of Crowds."

It was possible at one time for the individual to lose himself in the enthusiasm and emotions of large bodies of people because there was little critical analysis which revealed to us the psychological springs of action in such behavior. People felt free to enter into the 100% drives for patriotism, or membership in fraternal orders and have swallowed more or less whole the blatant claims for superiority on the part of churches, colleges, and other institutions. They could wave flags, sing songs of self-adulation, pat themselves upon the back and let themselves go without inhibitions. But the new psychology which analyses crowd behavior makes us realize the dangers of letting ourselves go and reveals to us for the first time adequately, the unreality of the crowd process. By joining a 100% group, we are re-enforcing our personal egotism in socially approved ways. We are surrendering our critical judgment to the authority of the mass. We escape the necessity of careful analysis of what is true and sane by all going temporarily insane together. We escape the necessity of moral conduct or logical choice by resting in the dictum, "My group does it."

While this new critical analysis again does not reach all people by any means, it does affect a considerable number of the more intelligent who are reading the new social psychology; and the attitude of these more intelligent persons is bound to percolate through increasing layers of social classes. The result is that one becomes cynical of group behavior. He fears letting himself go in the wild enthusiasm of the mob. When a political party makes extravagant claims to superiority, the individual immediately sets up a defense mechanism which keeps him out of the party. When a church stresses its creeds and infallibility, the intelligent person sees the danger of inflated egotism at the basis of the claim, realizes the illusion and flees in fear. The new social psychology thus inhibits the individual from activities which were formerly normal and even though the crowd behavior may be justifiable, he finds it more difficult to enter into it with his whole being.

If these analogies hold good, (and we believe that they do), we can see how the new psychology operates in the field of religious experience. Just as in experiencing love, a critical attitude which sees illusion in the experience produces an inhibition; and just as in crowd phenomena, the critical attitude which sees escape from reality and abnormal egotism, act as a paralysing agent; so in religion, the new research in the subconscious and in the will to believe creates barriers against the freedom of normal religious experience.

The critical faculty is always to some extent an enemy of the creative spirit. It makes us self conscious, fearful of error and thus inhibited. The ignorant Bushman in Australia or the untutored African in the jungle, may let all his emotions flow freely and joyously into the primitive sacred dance or sacrifice, because he does not see behind that behavior the motives lurking in the dark shadows of the unconscious. But the moment he is made to realize the full import of all he is doing, he is no longer capable of abandoning himself to the ecstasy of the rich and glorious experience. As our critical analysis of motives proceed, the more we are shut out from the wholesome and free release of energies, the more are we hedged about with barriers of sophistication. It was this fact which made Wordsworth cry out:

> The world is too much with us; late and soon,
> Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers:
> Little we see in nature that is ours;
> We have given our hearts away, a sordid boon!
> This sea that bares her bosom to the moon;
> The winds that will be howling at all hours
> And are up-gather'd now like sleeping flowers;
> For this, for everything we are out of tune;
> It moves us not.—Great God! I'd rather be
> A pagan suckled in a creed outworn;
> So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
> Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn,
> Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea,
> Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn.

But Wordsworth can neither see Proteus, nor hear Triton any longer, for both these old gods are nothing but wish-fancies. And as for wanting them revived—that is the will to believe something which is positively infantile and marks Wordsworth in his unguarded moment as regressing by flight into his un-

developed child-life! So the psychologist strips us of our dearest desires, makes us ashamed of them, and drives us into a hard and naked world filled only with facts and formulae.

Can anyone doubt that our critical attitude toward the subconscious and the will to believe will act and does act as a barrier to religious experience? There is hardly a single act of religious faith which cannot and is not paralysed by the fear that it leads to fiction. There are large numbers who cannot find comfort and strength in prayer because they dread a flight into infantile trust. There are numberless thousands who cannot accept and avail themselves of the values of religious experience because of fear that the values are not real.

What life craves, the intellect denies. The mind may some day come to deny the enduring satisfactions not only of religion but of family and art. Our fear of being unintelligent may finally rob us not only of superstition, but of the very things which make the intellect worth while.

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

Jottings

The Hall of Fame has at last admitted Walt Whitman into its sacred precincts, and thus redeemed itself. That empty niche, now happily filled, has required a lot of explanation all these years. And explanation never explained!

An Englishman in the *Atlantic Monthly* performs the amazing feat of publishing a 12-page article on the situation in India today, and making not even one mention of Gandhi. To speak of India without Gandhi is much like producing "Hamlet" without the Prince.

"A model of the Royal Sovereign, British ship-of-the-line built at the command of Charles I in the seventeenth century, has been acquired by the Museum of Peaceful Arts." — New York *Times*, November 1st.
This looks as though this Museum believed that preparedness is one of the "peaceful arts."

The Royal Geographical Society, of England, is one hundred years old this year. It records that at its meetings in this century have appeared Livingstone, Stanley, Nansen, Amundsen, Scott, Shackleton, Peary, and Sven Hedin. What a list!

The Bolsheviki are terribly excited because the Finns have been using, or misusing, the Soviet flag in campaign posters. We wonder if this means that flag-worship is as much of a mania in Russia as it is, for example, in America.

Cut this paragraph out! On this day (October 27), the Hoover administration has declared that, thanks to its energy and skilful organization, there will be no hunger and cold among our people this winter. *Consult this paragraph on January 27th, and see if the administration's promises of succor are any surer than its prophecies of prosperity!*

J. H. H.

American Notes

Three Night Scenes—in New York

I promised to write next about one of Dr. Wise's "Ten Leaders"—namely Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Riverside Church—but the notices of "4,000 turned away" have discouraged me. I shall be "lying in wait for him."

However, I was out at least three nights, this week, and witnesseed three scenes that will interest the readers of UNITY. They involve three institutions and movements, that would meet the approval of the "universe-mind" of an Einstein. By the way, the deification of Einstein and the appearance of the "Von Steuben 2-cent Stamp"—note, that the 2-cent stamp brings him into the class of George Washington—all in one week, indicate that the Germans have jumped back into the front seat of American approval, and some belated day America may "recognize Russia."

1. Scene first. Monday night. Hotel Woodstock. Annual dinner of *The World Tomorrow*. Over 800 in attendance! John Nevin Sayre, presiding. Discussion of the critical situations in Russia, Germany and India. Speakers: Sherwood Eddy, who has recently returned from his seventh visit to Russia; Reinhold Niebuhr, who again visited Germany this summer; Kirby Page, who attended the Lahore meeting of the Indian National Congress and was the guest of Mahatmi Gandhi at Sabarmati, and who is willing to print that Gandhi is the greatest man in the world. The meeting gave as much information about these three great lands as one could obtain from *Current History*, and it was charged with a passionate enthusiasm for mankind. It cannot be condensed into a paragraph. But, Eddy was hopeful and fearful about Russia. He is sure that Russia is making a distinct contribution to freedom and social justice, that the five-year plan promises to be greater in its effects than the French revolution. Of course, he favors "recognition" in spite of the fact that many menacing aspects appear in the system that controls.

Niebuhr reminds one of a skilful swordsman. He would make a dangerous duelist. He makes his point swiftly, and with a clean stroke. To him, America is much bound up in the future of Germany. If the

"Western world doesn't revise its program, Germany will go communist." Page made the situation in India to stand forth in startling aspects. India may go one of three ways: absolute independence, continued dependence, self-governing dominion status. He himself, bearing in mind the interests of both India and Britain and also the welfare of mankind, favors immediate autonomy.

The World Tomorrow is an organ to be reckoned with. I was surprised to learn that it went into 2,000 libraries in our land, with 300 going into Latin-American libraries. It evidently has a "good uncle" or two behind it, for which we are glad. A kind of a "school" has grown up around it that is bound to maintain a distinct leadership in America, and the world. This "school" will bear watching, and should be prayed for, for it has power and great possibilities. May it not be after the fashion of the Fabian, of Shaw-Wells-Russell and Co. America needs nothing of that dying dynasty. I am hoping that this "school" which is bound to have a brilliant career finds its rootage in American principles—for no land has inherited richer —and not look twice to Europe before speaking or writing. Let them beware of flatterers. They have a window wide open to the East. This is good. They must not forget to have too a window wide open to the West. I am thinking of Whitman, Markham, Sinclair, Lindsay, Whitaker—the West which thus far has been the direction of progress. Hail to *The World Tomorrow!* And the new school of prophets!

2. Scene second. Wednesday night. Hotel Ambassador. After Dinner Meeting of the Survey Associates. Attendance, 800. Wanted to come, 1,500. I am inclined to think that "master" minds are behind these big crowds. Popularizing pacificism, brotherhood, social service is not supposed to be an easy task. Here I must not forget to mention the Kellogg Brothers—Paul U., and Arthur—the twin propellers of what I suppose is the best human welfare magazine in the world. While they are publishing stories about Jane Addams, Thomas Mott Osborne and others, I wish they would tell together a story about the "Two Brothers." At any rate, some one ought to be gathering material for such a story.

The topic for discussion was *"Mass Credit;* The entrance on the American scene of the newer form of small loans and their revolutionary significance." Evans Clark told of the sensational growth of financing the consumer. Leon P. Henderson dwelt upon the fight against usury. Henry Bruere dwelt upon the thrilling drama of savings in the land. T. J. O'Shaughnessy told about the workers' credit as exhibited in the Credit Unions of the Rock Island Railway. Edward A. Filene sketched the growth of the Credit Unions.

Let me enlarge a little upon Mr. Filene's thought. Naturally, he knows much about these Unions, as he was the one to introduce them into America, and is the President of the National society. He traced the three phases in industry: Mass production, Mass consumption, Mass credit. The first must lead on to the last. The last will solve the problem arising out of the first and second. Mass credit is the next adventure, discovery, in American industry. If the "head" is financed, it follows that the "hands" too must be financed. The Credit Union is a kind of bank, for a special group, available only for that group. It enables the worker to spend, to become a consumer. The coming finance must be cooperative. Mass finance contributes to the stability of the democratic movement.

It was an inspiring night. While the clock in the Tower was striking 12 and I walked away with my friend, M. Rustia, from the Philippines, I said, How could we get on without the Kellogg Brothers, and the *Survey-Graphic?*

3. Scene third. Friday night. Community Church. Initial Meeting of the recently organized All Nations Fellowship. The lecture room was crowded, with John Haynes Holmes in the chair. This new movement in the Church grew out of a discovery at a morning service last spring, when over thirty persons stood on the platform all born in foreign lands, and each in a separate land! There will be four regular meetings a year (others on occasion), when some distinguished visitor to America will be given a reception.

Haridas Muzumdar, a citizen of India, was the guest of honor. He is known to the readers of UNITY. He was first greeted by several from his own country, in excellent English that is worthy of imitation. Then Mr. Muzumdar told the story of the historic March to the Sea, in which he was one of the trusted comrades of Gandhi. (Here I pass on an interesting side-remark. He asked Gandhi, who of all the Americans who had visited him seemed to impress him the most. Gandhi replied, "For spiritual passion and perception, I was the most impressed by Harry F. Ward.") The story of the March has been told in UNITY. One thing impressed me afresh, that all who joined the movement took the vow not "to return to their homes, until the object of the march had been attained, until India is free." The All Nations Fellowship promises to be a thing of power and beauty. The last to join the Community Church and Fellowship is a Japanese—bringing the number of foreign born, and in different varieties, up to thirty-four!

Again, another near midnight walk, down the vast spaces of the city's cathedral-aisles, while the bells were ringing, and I said as I had of the *Survey,* How could we get on without Community Church, producing fruit for the feeding of the nations? and leaves for their healing. . . . I am thinking of Britain these days, not in anger but in sympathy, that the eyes of the King and People may be opened! Let Britain say, "Brother India come, let us sit down together, absolute equals—soon, we can find the way to live together in peace and love." But, it must be as equals!

SYDNEY STRONG

Revolt

I protest,
And join my timeless brothers of all time—
Columbus, Huss, and Luther,
The intrepid Puritans,
And Lincoln—and the Reds!—
All those who took the taunt of "Fool"
From ancient tyranny.

They who accept their bondage must be slaves.
They who protest are marked for liberty,
And I protest!

ELINOR LENNEN

Thoughts of Tolstoy

[*Selections from Tolstoy's "Readings for Every Day" here published for the first time in English*]

IV

1.

It is possible not to think of such questions as what is the whole world, stretching endlessly in every direction, or what is my soul, which knows itself; but once you begin to think of this, it is impossible not to recognize that which we call God.

2.

"God" we call that whole of which we feel ourselves a part, and likewise that perfection which we desire to attain.

3.

Knowledge of God may be either intellectual or moral, founded on faith. Intellectual knowledge is untrustworthy and liable to dangerous errors; moral knowledge ascribes to God only such qualities as demand moral actions. Such faith is at once natural and supernatural. It is supernatural because it is founded on moral feeling, which has no explanation whatsoever, and is therefore a miracle; it is natural because it does not recognize any kind of miracles.

4.

It is said that God is love, or love is God. It is also said that God is reason, or reason is God. All this is untrue. Love and reason are only those qualities of God which we recognize in ourselves; but what He is in Himself,—this we cannot know.

5.

God we cannot know. The only thing that we know about Him is His law, His will, as the Gospel expresses it. From the fact that we know His law, we deduce that there is a Law-giver, that there is One who gave out the law—but this we cannot know. We know with certainty only that there is a law to which we must submit, and from which we cannot depart, either living or dying. Living, we may take part in the fulfillment of the law; dying, our part in its fulfillment during this life is at an end. The new work is not appointed, the worker is without a place. Beyond this, we can know nothing of God, and indeed we need know nothing more of Him.

6.

There is no God for him who is not aware of God in himself.

7.

When we pray we turn to God, not because God is personal (I even know for certain that He is not personal, because personality is a limitation, and God is infinite); but because the "I" is a personal being.

I have a little green glass over my eye, and I see everything green; I cannot help seeing the world green, although I know that it is not so.

V

1.

When man enters into reason he hears more and more often two discordant voices in himself. One voice says: "In the world there exists only your 'I.' You need only live for it." The other voice says: "Besides your 'I' there is, likewise, an 'I' in other people. You must also live for them." And the older a man grows, the weaker is the first voice and the stronger the second. The first voice divides men, the second unites them.

2.

The whole history of humanity, so far back as we know it, is a movement of mankind toward greater and greater unity. This unity is accomplished in the most various ways: through trade relationships, through means of transportation, through telegraphs, through the press; and, above all, through the growth among men of love and respect toward one another. And this unity is served not only by those who work for it, but even, involuntarily, by those who oppose it. Thus unity is one of those visible ends which mankind is destined to approach.

Let us, therefore in order to fulfill the law of the life of mankind, help all that which unites people and withdraw from all that which divides them. By fulfilling this law we shall receive involuntarily, even without wishing it, the greatest good within the reach of men.

3.

My business is to carry out the will of Him who sent me. I cannot know in what His will consists; but rising to the highest level of my mind, I coincide with the mind of God; and, although I do not know in what lies the final meaning of life, still I know that this meaning exists; and I know what I must do in order to live in accordance with this meaning: I must do all that which unites people and all existent things. And it is easy for me to do this, because I strive toward this unity unconsciously.

4.

Men can unite only in the truth. In order that men should come together as one, they need not go to meet each other, but they must all be going toward the truth; for only in the truth will they meet together. Men do not join others because they want to meet this one or that, but they join only those who are going whither they go.

If there were an immense temple in which the light fell from above in the very centre, then in order to forgather in this temple, people would have to assemble, not separately—one with another—but all together in the light at the center. Only then would all the people in the temple come together. And thus also in the world: If all men move toward God, toward truth, they will all come together.

5.

Man, recognizing the misery and mortality of his bodily "I," transfers his consciousness to the spiritual "I." This transfer of his bodily "I" into the spiritual not only does not weaken life and bring it to an end; but, on the contrary, strengthens it, though in another direction. The "I" of the spirit cannot fail to recognize the not merely similar, but identical, spiritual "I" in all other beings; and naturally, even inevitably, it tries to merge with that which is the same in substance. In this lies the essence and meaning of the spiritual life.

6.

The contradiction between the desire for felicity in our own individual being and the consciousness that this felicity is impossible because of an inevitable conflict with all the similar individual beings which fill the world,—this contradiction is only abolished when man recognizes his spiritual "I"; and having recognized it in himself, understands that it is not only similar to, but the same as that spiritual "I" in all other beings. The contradiction is abolished by this, that man, living spiritually, strives toward unity, instead of conflict,

with the like spiritual essence in all other living beings.

VI.

1.

A Chinese sage was asked: "What is science?"
He said: "To know men."
He was asked: "And what is virtue?"
He said: "To love men."

2.

In order to live according to the law of its own being, a bird must fly, a snake must crawl, a fish must swim, but a man must love. And, therefore, if a man instead of loving people, does them harm, he acts just as strangely as if a bird began to swim or a fish to fly.

3.

We say that we love those whom we like, those who praise us, those who do good to us; but thus we love for ourselves, for our own benefit. Real love is when we love not for ourselves; when we desire good, not for ourselves, but for those whom we love; when we love, not because a person is pleasant or useful to us, but because in every person we recognize that same spirit which dwells in us.

Only when we love in this way can we love, as Christ taught, not only those who love us, but those who hate us, our enemies.

4.

Whenever someone has offended you, and you feel ill-disposed toward him, strive to remember that in him who has offended you dwells that same spirit of God which dwells in you.

5.

When things are hard for you, when your life has grown confused, and you fear that which awaits you say to yourself: Come, now, I shall stop worrying about what will happen to me, and I shall love all those whom I meet by the way, and then let come what will. Only try to live thus, and you will see how everything will suddenly disentangle itself, and you will have nothing to fear.

6.

A man is pitiable and ridiculous when he seeks that which is hanging on his own back. Just as pitiable and ridiculous is the man who seeks happiness, not knowing that it lies in the love which is stored in his own heart.

7.

If you love a man, just the man, and do not love in him that spirit which is in yourself, you often cease to love; and instead of loving, you despise and even hate that man whom formerly you loved.

8.

If you cannot train yourself to seek an opportunity to do good, as a hunter seeks game; then, at the very least, do not lose an opportunity to do good.

9.

Kindness in relationship with people is obligatory. If you are not kind to a man, you are not carrying out your chiefest duty.

VII

1.

Man lives happily only when he lives in harmony with other people and with God. But man's body wishes good only for itself, and men yield to this delusion. But as soon as man lives, not for the soul, but for the body, he becomes alienated both from people and from God.

2.

It is called a "sin" in ploughing, when the ploughman does not hold back the plough, and it leaps from the furrow, and fails to lay hold of what it should. And it is the same in life. Sin is when a man does restrain the body, and it breaks loose from the way, and fails to do what it should.

3.

Without sins and repentance for them there is no life. Sins are like the shell of an egg or of a seed; deliverance from sins is like the breaking open of the egg or the seed, as a result of which the germ begins to grow and is exposed to the action of air and light. Even so, the spiritual germ of man, breaking through sins, begins to grow and is exposed to the action of the Divine Essence, of which he is a part.

4.

The true way is straight and free, and thou shalt not stumble if thou walkest in it. So soon as thou feelest that thy feet are entangled in the cares of worldly life, know that thou hast wandered from the true path.

5.

Did not the body separate men one from another, the Spirit of God, dwelling in the body of all men, would merge into one. Without the body there would be no life. Life consists in deliverance from the body.

6.

There are vices in us which retain their hold only through our other vices, and which pass away when we destroy the fundamental vices, as branches fall if we cut the trunk beneath.—(*Pascal.*)

[*To be continued*]

An Open Letter to Prime Minister MacDonald*

Dear Prime Minister MacDonald:

Since we are old associates in a common cause, a friendly remonstrance will hardly be considered impertinent; and as your time is precious, and my own not altogether valueless, I will come at once to the matter in hand—India.

When you took office, an owl could see that India was to be the acid test. Her great leader (now your prisoner) had done a thing unprecedented in the history of rebels by giving you public notice of the date when this revolt would begin, and of the form it would take; but the event found you still unprepared, unless (as has been suggested) preparation took the sinister form of a private understanding with the other political parties whereby they were assured of 'continuity of foreign policy' in contempt of your previous democratic and international vows. It was then given to Mr. Wells to specify your niche in the gallery of British Prime Ministers: 'An image of unreadiness.'

It was your fatal endorsement of the doctrine of Continuity of Foreign Policy that forced you to meet India's demand for self-determination by coercion instead of consent and mutual adjustment. International

*This "Open Letter" to the British Premier is written by the Minister of the Free Religious Movement in London, an Englishman, and a prominent member of the Labor Party. It was sent to Mr. MacDonald for comment and correction before being given to the public.—Editor.

democracy pointed to freedom, but imperial militarism dragged you back to 'methods of barbarism.' (You recall that phrase, and your predecessor who coined it, and why? Was it not the same who kept South Africa for the empire?)

I have grown old in democratic struggle, and accustomed to take a set-back with equanimity, but I have never known such discouragement as now arises from witnessing the instrument of democracy breaking in the hand of the first Labor Premier. It was not this we expected. It was not for this we strove, suffered, and helped you up to power.

You used to teach us that Star Chambers went ill with democracy, and you owe it to our bewilderment to show how it is that International Democracy and World Peace may now best be promoted by such means as the incarceration of political leaders without trial, the suppression of free speech, free assembly, and free press, the breaking-up of bodies of non-resisting men and women by police (and sometimes military) violence, causing many deaths, and grievously wounding great numbers guilty of no crime.

You may remind me that Emerson flouted a foolish consistency as the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little statesmen, but surely he did not mean that the size of a statesman was to be measured by the width of the gap between his present and his past, or the depth of his descent from the ideals of a lifetime. Like myself, you were brought up on the Bible, and will remember a certain unfitness alleged regarding those who, having put their hand to the plough, look back.

Your past is certainly not forgotten, and is counted to you for righteousness. I was with you on the platform of the Memorial Hall when it was stormed by Anzacs thirsting for your blood, and again at Cardiff when a mob of workers headed by a member of Parliament broke us up. At the first Keir Hardie Memorial Service you moved us pitifully by telling how you met that broken hero at the station on his return from a losing struggle with his war-intoxicated constituents, and how you sought to cheer him: 'Never mind, Hardie, we'll begin all over again!' Then his moving response: 'It's hard to begin all over again.' Does it surprise you to be told that some of your Party are now feeling just like that?

I recall a notable sentence with which you commenced a speech at a peace meeting in Central Hall: 'Armaments depend on policy,' but when, at another place and time, you announced your adhesion to the doctrine of continuity, you seemed deliberately to have chosen the policy that necessitated the greatest possible armaments, and deliberately to have thirled yourself to the imperial war-chariot.

With special gratitude I recall your association with E. D. Morel (what would he think now?) in founding the Union of Democratic Control, which stands in plain black and white for the abolition of secret diplomacy, the brotherhood of man applied to international relations, and denounces the exploitation of less developed or politically helpless non-European peoples. ('O ay—the wholesome madness of an hour!')

You have participated in Labor Congresses which subordinated the clamor of a proud empire on which the sun never sets to the claim of an empire on which the sun never rises—the clouded underworld of slumdom, unemployment, and preventable misery at home, and military domination and economic exploitation abroad: 'Labor holds that the empire can only be justified if it is held together, not by coercion, but by the free consent of a Commonwealth of self-governing people.'

Words of your own are on record: 'I hope that within the period of a few months, rather than years, there will be a new Dominion added to the Commonwealth of our nations, a Dominion of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an equal within the Commonwealth.' You have also made some notable contributions to literature, and in *The Awakening of India* you make statements such as these: That no race or nation can govern another justly; that India, though naturally the area of a single government, has suffered loss of initiative and self development almost more than any other country; and (in a press letter) 'Let independence be granted.' What has happened to change your mind? I need not remind you that it was Britain which blocked the way to the United States of America, as she now blocks the way to a future United States of India. Do you really think that your methods of barbarism can prevent a similar issue in both cases? I need not remind a British Prime Minister of Lord Chatham's famous 'You cannot, my Lords, you cannot conquer America.' Substitute India, and the challenge stands.

I am not unmindful of the fact that a Round Table Conference is under way, but what sort of a Conference is it likely to be which is preceded by the imprisonment (without trial) of Indian leaders, refusal of political amnesty, proclamation of Congress as an unlawful assembly (thereby rendering voiceless the largest and most representative section of political India, since outlaws cannot be invited to Conferences), and which can be regarded only as an ingenious postponement of the grand issue. Your political sagacity no doubt anticipates some such issue as this—A conference dissolving into a medley of dissonant voices and irreconcilable views—an exultant British 'I told you so—India unfit to govern herself.' Therefore benevolent Britain in India must continue to shoulder 'the white man's burden'! (contents not specified). And then? An intensification of Civil Disobedience met by a Reign of Terror. Do you accept that responsibility? It might be well to recall what you yourself have written in the past, and to reflect on what may be written about you in the future.

You seem to have impressed your views on an apparently unanimous Cabinet (including some who, like yourself, posed as India's special friends), who seem willing to share the reproach of inglorious retreat,—not only from public declarations of the Labor Party, but,—from promises repeatedly made to India. But the Prime Minister who does not resign must bear the blame.

It is impossible for you to evade the choice before you. Either you must arrange a real Conference on the basis of the Five Points set down by the imprisoned Congress leaders, liberated for that purpose, or you must intensify Terrorism to the point of War, and be remembered as the Prime Minister who lost India.

In the latter case, I trust the Party will refuse to follow you, as will

Yours sincerely,

WALTER WALSH.

Free Religious Movement, London.

Wrecking the League?

What ailed the eleventh Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations? The two weeks that preceded it revealed a totally different Geneva from those of previous years. Where were the crowds on the *qui vive* to learn and see all they could of the *Société des Nations,* storming the meeting place, getting into close touch with all sorts of strange nationals, breathing about the Secretariat and Labor Office and the Representatives of Member Governments a brotherhood consciousness all the more pervasive and powerful because of the humor and naivete of its expression? This year the Assembly met in more comfortable quarters, the *Bâtiment Electoral,* but the homelike feeling (bad air to the contrary notwithstanding) of the old and impossible *Salle de la Reformation,* all the more effective because impossible, was gone. The vividness of the picture of a united World, the dynamic appeal of the Assembly every time it met in that first decade, profoundly realized by everyone fortunate enough to be present and share it, was untellable and unforgetable. But last month's meeting lacking this environing power, was able to feature something like the professional and blase atmosphere of a typical American state capitol.

Within the *Bâtiment Electoral* the proceedings were mournfully prosy. Empty seats by the score while the doors were besieged by would-be spectators from all points of the compass emphasized the tendency to red tape. The ablest speeches awakened moderate applause in sharp contrast with the enthusiastic reception of other years. Finally instead of the story of some large product brought forth through the pangs of forensic conflict between earth's giant leaders as the outcome at Geneva this year, the eager visitor was led to the bedside of Horace's laboring mountains.

This Assembly had the opportunity of achieving the most notable record in League history, the ground for it had been thoroughly prepared and the World expected it. But M. Briand's opening address, which was scheduled to give the keynote and storm the grandstand, proved as he himself dubbed it "a mere precautionary platitude" and served notice on mankind that this meeting was bound to stop far short of its possibilities. "What the League," said the French Foreign Minister, "must try, above all, to avoid is any such feeling of disappointment among the nations as might result in a loss of confidence in itself."

This pessimistic forecast was reenforced by two other opening speeches from Delegates of Holland and Denmark the latter of whom quoted the British Premier as having said after the close of the London Naval Conference "The nations are evidently on the way to return to their pre-war mentality," a sentiment repeated by Lord Cecil at the recent meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, and, added the Delegate, "Lord Cecil recognized that, in the last few months, the movement of peoples toward the ideal of lasting peace has rather been losing ground, but like Mr. Henderson he still hoped that the spirit of peace would prevail." With such an introduction one scarcely wonders that the special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* giving his view of the entire Eleventh Session should have written these words:

> The eleventh ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations is approaching its end. It promises to be one of the most barren sessions ever held, and seems likely to justify the quip that the League of Nations touches nothing that it does not adjourn. . . . This is serious, not only because the reputation of the League is likely to suffer, but still more because it is a symptom of international unrest. Everybody is nervous and pessimistic, and there is a general feeling that the future is uncertain. So far at any rate as Europe is concerned, the international situation is worse than it has ever been since 1920.
>
> One of the gravest symptoms is the attitude of France. Never before have French tactics been so obstructive, not even in the days of Poincaré. The whole conduct of the French Delegation here justifies the suspicion that M. Briand's scheme of so-called European Federal Union was an indication of a turning away on the part of France from the League of Nations and an attempt to provide a substitute for it. The whole aim of French policy during the present Assembly has been to prevent any extension of the power and influence of the League. France has played the part of a wrecker.

This sweeping judgment may be justified by all the facts, though not by those available to outsiders. We cannot believe that the League is going to be wrecked, though this year's voyage showed officers and crew navigating the dangerous waters of defeatism with a double-mindedness of control that might easily end in disaster. There were quite a few features of this anniversary which tend partly to modify the disappointment created by the Assembly. One of these was the readiness to criticise and tell the truth irrespective of whom it hit. Much of this boldness is associated with the Delegates of smaller States. Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and others took the League severely to task for its failure to live up to its duty, and these criticisms were richly deserved. For has there ever been a deliberative assembly whose praises year after year were so persistently sung by its members gathered in annual session as that of the League of Nations? This complacency has now passed on to some of the leaders and culminated in M. Briand's outburst, "So long as I am where I am, there will be no war. I will not allow war to be let loose upon mankind again." Without doubt if this will to peace actually dominates this great Frenchman, his claim to world statesmanship is safe.

It is also to his credit that he should have engineered to the front his proposal for a United States of Europe. He saw, as all the outstanding leaders here do, that for that continent it is "Union or Death." And the Assembly gave him all he asked in instituting a thorough study both of the situation and of means to secure great end. But what is not so estimable, if true, is the charge made by the *Guardian's* correspondent, that the French Minister desires to corral the hegemony of the new Europe for his Government whose policy since the war has not shown her to be worthy of it. For if any continental nation possesses the requisite power to lead, it may be argued that Germany comes nearest to it. But better far for Europe and the World will be what promises to develop, namely, that no one Power or group of Powers will come out ahead in this struggle for the *summum bonum* of continental unity. What seems most needed and likely to eventuate is a combination not so different from the American Union where no State ever has grasped or ever will hold the reins.

Some other good things were done at Geneva. An Opium Conference was called for next May. Progress in dealing with prostitution was reported and farther advance planned. Better organization of the Secretariat was provided for after such voluminous discussion that matters of salary, promotion, permanency,

pensions and the like came to assume the proportions of the most important business before the Assembly. The Convention on Financial Assistance was enacted easily because of its relation to the Sanction Complex. It belongs to the category of force-measures to ensure security which have their base in fear, harking back to Wilhelm II's *Schrecklichkeit*. The work among refugees, so nobly carried on by Fritjof Nansen, a permanent League hero, was vigorously pushed, largely as a memorial worthy of this gentle brother spirit.

Balance over against these positives (and the regular World welfare activities of the League) the refusal of Great Britain's proposal for a Permanent Slavery Commission. Mr. Buxton's and Lord Cecil's pleas were unanswerable and behind them bulked the silent cry of 5,000,000 of slaves suffering the extreme of brutality but all to no purpose. The Assembly also marked time on the question of minorities, not in the least surprising because of its delicacy.

So it happened that the idealistic keynote of the Assembly Session was struck by Britain's Foreign Minister, Mr. Henderson. One year ago his speech was surpassed in power only by that of Premier MacDonald. This time he stood out alone. In rugged language he faced the Assembly with its two unsurpassed opportunities, one to harmonize the Covenant with the Pact of Peace by a few amendments, the other to fulfil the pledge to the Covenant by putting over bona-fide disarmament. The first of these almost went through a year ago and to satisfy a group of States was sent to a Committee to give a year for the delicate to predigest and assimilate the proposed action. But this consummate chance to take war out of the Covenant and advance one mighty forward step towards indissoluble Peace was frustrated by that hidden force behind the scenes which has again and again opposed decided action ensuring both peace and security. Meantime the Report of the Committee who worked over the amendments needed to harmonize the Covenant with the Peace Pact was so fair and represented so large a victory in the fight against war that the postponement was a bitter draught to League lovers.

But the treatment which disarmament met was worse. Mr. Henderson had in his opening address put the case for this ideal with unusual clearness and force. We quote:

> Nothing can make our peoples truly safe from war until a treaty of general disarmament has been made. Security is impossible if competitive military preparations continue as they are doing today. In our judgment, the whole system of the Covenant rests on that. Therefore in accepting new instruments which are designed to complete or to strengthen the machinery of the Covenant on the side of security, we shall insert the condition that our acceptance of such measures shall only become effective when, on the other side, disarmament has ceased to be a mere phrase and has become a reality. . . . We can never fulfil the purpose for which the League has been created unless we are prepared to carry through a scheme of general disarmament by international agreement. The authors of the Covenent never believed that international cooperation could succeed if national armaments should remain unrestricted, and if armament competition should revive. It was for this reason that they inserted in Article 8 the obligation to accept a general reduction and limitation of national forces by international treaties. That obligation has not yet been honored, though it was incurred eleven years ago. . . . By that obligation every Government Member of this League is bound. . . . Time and again the Assembly has renewed that undertaking.
>
> It was only two years ago that a solemn resolution was adopted by the Assembly which declared that the present conditions of security set up by the Covenant, by the treaties of peace, by the reduction in the armaments of certain countries under those treaties, and also by the Locarno agreement, would allow of the conclusion at the present time of a first general Convention for the reduction and limitation of armaments. Yet need I remind this great Assembly, two years have gone by and we have not made that general Convention. The pace is slow and the peoples of the World are growing impatient and doubtful, in many cases, of our good faith. . . . Unless naval disarmament can be made general, unless it can be completed by the reduction and limitation of land and air forces, the peace treaties will not have been executed, the Covenant will remain unfulfilled, and the peace of Europe and of the World will not be safe.

That this appeal moved the Assembly was evident from the time of its utterance to the close of the gathering. Delegate after delegate recorded the will of his nation to peace through disarmament yet such was the pressure exercised that when the Assembly was faced with action, it refused to advocate the calling of the Disarmament Conference before the end of 1931. This abysmally disappointing turndown—double-sealed the defeatist character of the Eleventh Assembly.

M. Andre Maurois sketching in the *Geneva Journal* his portrait of the recent Assembly said:

> The annual Assembly is more a religious ceremony than a parliamentary debate. The speakers without knowing it assume the tone of a preacher: the word "peace" recurs here in each sentence as in other temples the word "God" and it is pronounced in the same manner. Each year in the first week of September a great sacred orator (Father Briand, the Reverend David Henderson) preaches in the Assembly of the Nations a solemn sermon on a text from the Covenant. Then the Congregation chants its favorite psalms: Psalm 159, Disarmament-Security; Psalm 163, Security-Disarmament.

The League has not yet reached the stage where like many of our state legislatures it is viewed as an institution of questionable value, a sort of perfunctory nuisance, or even a joke, but if its record of refusal to act upon the really great measures before it which provoked the sober protests of a number of its members and moved its great champion, Lord Cecil, to say of the Committee which refused to help the millions of chattel slaves to freedom "Without gross exaggeration it may justly be maintained that the results achieved by the Sixth Committee were absolutely nil," is not reversed and if the suspicion gains ground that the League controllers are playing European politics, its influence and perhaps its very continuance are threatened. Europe is in too unstable equilibrium, trembling on the brink of war or revolution, to endure an institution which can end war forever and yet will not. While the peoples of the world are a unit in favor of complete disarmament, to be subjected to the kind of manipulation exhibited in the last Assembly may not long be borne. The rapidly growing army of out-of-works and the abject poverty of nearly everyone in the larger European countries (with the exception of France) should lead the League of Nations to dare everything which has in it the promise of peace and to do it quickly.

We in America with our selfish tariffs that are squeezing the life out of the rest of the world have just as much responsibility for conditions over here as any other country and with our growing intolerance of free speech, our reactionary courts and our insane expenditures for military purposes have quite as much reason to take heed as any other leading Power.

DOREMUS SCUDDER

Geneva, Switzerland

The Study Table

High Spots*

This clear and forceful little book has been written in support of what seems to me an unassailable position, namely, that the church never has and never can keep out of politics as long as it is a living church. Chapter by chapter Mr. High piles up lucid and ringing support for his contention that the church which is founded on principles of love cannot be ever a disinterested spectator of what goes on in the political arena.

Here is the way the author unfolds his story:

The church is in politics to further its moral ideals. As long as politics involves the consideration of moral issues the church will be there.

The outcry against the church in politics only means that the church has become an effective political force against corruption and those who produce it. The church in politics is always in danger of bad alignments, but the fact is, says the author, that American churches have never gone in for their own sakes but only for the sake of the moral issues involved.

There is a chapter to show that the tradition of the church in politics rests solidly on the political activities of the socially-minded Hebrew prophets. They were in politics up to their ears, and the church which attempts to perpetuate their moral fervor and spiritual dynamic will be there, too.

The next chapter shows clearly that Jesus followed in that same tradition. He, too, was in politics. By his doctrines of the Fatherhood of God and the Kingdom of Heaven he put the Christian church forever in the midst of the affairs of mankind. I should be inclined to question Mr. High's enthusiasm for these doctrines as they are brought to bear on the syrupy sentimentality of modern democratic tendencies, but I can see no loopholes in his argument that Jesus was interested in politics unless there is one in the fact that the author does not give enough emphasis to the manner in which Jesus finally despaired over political methods and sought more and more to do his work in the subjective field.

The author next shows that the missionary spirit of the early church made it impossible for it to escape being drawn into politics. Furthermore, the preachers of the second century, while they did not consciously enter, were inevitably thrust into that field of human life because their ideals were in violent conflict with the ideals of ancient Rome. The Roman system, founded on force, could not long endure the new Christian church whose members steadfastly refused to go to war. Alas, as Mr. High shows, Christianity fell from its high ideal, and, while seeking to overcome the world, was overcome by it, referring, of course, to the gradual growth of political ambitions in the Roman Catholic church first and then, after that, in the nationalism which made of the Protestant churches ready tools.

The author makes a nice point; indeed, he scores a bull's-eye, when he says that the doctrine of the separation of church and state, with which he agrees, does not imply any such doctrine as the separation of church and society. There is bound to be a great deal of loose thinking grow up around any slogan, and the "separation of church and state" is no exception to the rule. When vested interests are pursued by the moral indignation of the Christian church they begin to appeal to this phrase, but their appeal would have no force did everybody understand what is meant by the doctrine. It was put into the first amendment to the constitution expressly to protect the people against an *established* church which might dam up the stream of political action through false appeals to its divine authority. The church cannot criticize the state effectively when the two are the same, and their separation is important for the very reason that it puts into the hands of religion the sharp-edged weapon of disinterestedness. The doctrine is meant to keep the church in politics for Christ's sake and to keep it out only when it would go in for Caesar's sake.

I wish Mr. High's excellent account of the church and its relation to the prohibition issue could be widely distributed in pamphlet form, or otherwise made available to the people. It puts the case squarely, coolly and convincingly. He has also similarly treated the relation of the church to present-day economic issues, and to the major ideal of our day—that of world peace. These three chapters—on prohibition, economics and peace—leave the reader (who in the case of this reviewer does not happen to be of the humanitarian school) with great respect for the author's moral enthusiasm and forceful treatment of a vital theme. The problem with which I am left struggling is how to make a church which is spiritually aristocratic effective politically in a democratic world where a genuine Christian has no more voting power than that apotheosis of puerility—the average man.

RAYMOND H. PALMER.

*"The Church in Politics," by Stanley High. Published by Harper & Brothers, 1930. $2.00.

The Immortal Quaker

Not all the story of George Fox's life is in this volume.* Professor Jones's method is selective rather than exhaustive. In the necessities of the case a brief biography, the narrative is grouped about certain topics —Fox's sufferings and sacrifices, his philosophy and teachings, his visit to America, his contacts with his great contemporary, Oliver Cromwell, his organization of the Friends movement. But always Fox himself, the man, is kept in the foreground. Whatever details of the long story are omitted, no quality of the hero is lost. Here he is—not without fault or blemish, but in essence one of the greatest souls of history! The author does well to match him with St. Francis. Fox lacked something of the utter humility and gentleness of the Assisian. But he was his rival in courage, devotion, and utter clarity of spiritual vision.

Professor Jones has written a useful and most interesting book. Its modest proportions and unpretentious character tend to obscure the wealth of scholarship which has gone into its writing. No man knows the mystics better than Rufus M. Jones, who is himself also a Quaker. Exhaustive learning and boundless sympathy are therefore the guarantees of this biography.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

*"George Fox: Seeker and Friend," by Rufus M. Jones, L.L.D. Published by Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Resolutions of the Twenty-First Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

No element of the American population has felt the present economic depression as keenly as the American Negro, and this fact illustrates perhaps better than anything else the nature of our problem. The grandchildren of the slaves have achieved physical freedom, legal status, and political power in the North, but their economic bondage still fetters them. They form in the mass a great reservoir of unskilled and semi-skilled labor, paid on the lowest scale of current wages, hired last in times of prosperity and fired first in days of depression.

The attitude of the trade unions continues to be such that it is difficult for Negroes to acquire skill or raise their standards of living and public opinion still regards the place of the Negro as properly near the line of sheer physical existence. This situation indicates the most important field for unceasing agitation, for more thoughtful education. We commend the efforts in Chicago, New York and elsewhere to use the economic power of Negro consumers in order to open opportunity for wider employment. This movement deserves the cooperation of everyone.

There is every indication that the time for a renewed and serious battle for the civil rights of the Negro is at hand. It seems certain that the N. A. A. C. P. can launch during the next year in the courts of the nation a widespread battle against the disfranchisement laws and customs in the eight Southern States where disfranchisement laws were passed between 1890 and 1910. It has been encouraged by the "White Primary" cases to hope for wide success. It proposes to make a frontal attack upon the wretchedly unjust discrimination of "Jim-Crow" car laws in the fourteen Southern States which have such laws and in the United States courts where the matter of interstate travel has not yet been brought to satisfactory decision. We plan investigating discrimination on bus lines. We propose also, in the near future, to find out how far it is possible under the law to interfere with the constitution of normal and decent family life, and to put a premium on bastardy and prostitution by anti-intermarriage laws. We shall also work for representation of Negroes on juries. And above all, we are going to attack the discrimination in school funds customary in nearly all the Southern States and even in some of the Northern states, which gives to the already underprivileged Negro child less than half the chance of learning to read and write and acquiring the elements of education that is given to the none too fortunate white child.

Our triumph in the defeat of Judge Parker, whom President Hoover appointed to the Supreme Court, was due not only to the sound logic of our contention that a Supreme Court justice must support the 15th Amendment, but even more to the weight of our growing political power. Unless, therefore, that political power is used independently and honestly for the support of candidates who stand for democracy and against caste and color prejudice, as well as for the larger matters of liberal reform in this country, we cannot hope for further triumphs of this sort. The Parker victory is a demand for courageous action under the party organization and for independent voting on the part of the Negro regardless of former party affiliations. For this purpose we urge our members and our friends to register and vote and particularly to collect and send to us all available information concerning the disfranchisement of Negroes in the Southern states.

The recrudescence of lynching in its most horrible form shows the wisdom of our contention that nothing less than Federal legislation against this kind of barbarism will ever suffice to crush it. There have been in the ten years, ending December 31, 1929, 330 mob murders of untried persons accused of crime in the United States. During six months of the present year there have already been 12 lynchings, including the horrible burning at Sherman, Texas, where men and women and children danced around the blazing

Correspondence

Two New U. S. Stamps

Editor of UNITY:

This I thought you might like to read, and publish.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

La Crescenta, California.

Postmaster General,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Two new stamps, recently issued by the postal authorities, have come to my hands, the one in celebration of General Braddock's ill-fated expedition against the Indians, the other in recognition of the aid which General Steuben brought to our revolutionary forces one hundred and fifty years ago.

However well intended these issues may be I wish to register with you my protest against this indirect glorification of war on the part of your department of our Government. We have had previous evidence in an unhappy degree of the military-mindedness of the Post Office Department, which for a long while disfigured the mail of United States citizens, against the protests of many, with advertising of military encampments and military training. For the removal of this abuse we are cordially appreciative, though it ought never to have been allowed. But in an hour when militarism has been inferentially repudiated by our Government, in the outlawry of war, and when, despite this solemn declaration, militarists continue to act and talk as though such legislative and official renunciation of war was only a scrap of paper, we think it is most inappropriate for the Post Office Department to parade military memorials as though there were no memorials of science, invention, literature, and other phases of social sanity and progress to commemorate. ROBERT WHITAKER.

Public Opinion and Peace

Editor of UNITY:

I wonder how many people realize that public opinion when directed on one object is the most irresistible force in the modern world? Public opinion is nothing but the collective *thought* of individual men and women.

Consciously or unconsciously, voluntarily or involuntarily, we create public opinion every hour of the day, by our example, by our expressed opinion and above all by our thoughts, out of which words and actions spring. We may abuse our power of thinking by habitually expressing fear, depression, envy, jealousy and greed. We may waste our power of thinking by yielding to the habit of mental drifting, by failing to direct our thoughts, by repeating mental catchwords and the opinions of others without examing them.

We may use our power of thinking for the good of our country and the world, by thinking strong, courageous and helpful thoughts. Let us then think of world peace and desire it with all our hearts!

It was R. W. Emerson who said:

"Whenever we see the doctrine of peace embraced by a nation, we may be assured it will not be one that invites injury; but one, on the contrary which has a friend in the bottom of the heart of every man; one against which no weapon can prosper; one which is looked upon as the asylum of the human race and has the tears and the blessings of mankind. If you have a nation of men who have risen to that height of moral cultivation that they will not declare war—you have a nation of lovers, of benefactors, of true, great and able men. How is this new aspiration of the human mind to be made visible and real? How is it to pass out of thoughts into things? This is not to be carried by public opinion, but by private opinion, by private conviction, by private dear and earnest love. For the only hope of this cause is in the increased insight, and it is to be accomplished by the spontaneous teaching of the cultivated soul in its secret experience and meditation—that it is now time it should pass out of the state of beast into the state of man. If the rising generation can be provoked to think it unworthy to nestle into every abomination of the past, and shall feel the generous darings of austerity and virtue, then war has a short day and human blood will cease to flow."

HENRIETTE POSNER.

Rochester, N. Y.

jail singing "Happy Days Have Come Again." How long is this country going to stand as the only civilized nation where such atrocities are permitted? The Mayor of one Oklahoma town has shown how easy it is to check or frustrate the mob. We commend his effort and the efforts of other Southern liberals.

We can easily understand the opposition of Southern senators to any real investigation into crime in the United States, and this leads us to reiterate our plea to the Hoover Law Enforcement Commission that they investigate all crime and allow this Association to lay before them facts in our possession. We ask that the Senate Committee on campaign expenditures include in their investigation not simply expenditure and methods in the North but methods and disfranchisement in the South.

We still insist that in compulsory segregation by race lies the active germ of all prejudice, race hatred and war. There is no earthly objection to persons associating themselves as they wish for social and cultural objects: but forced segregation against the will of the individuals and for the purpose of human degradation, is a shameless thing, whether it occurs as a matter of residence, education or social intercourse.

We are glad to find ourselves at the time of this Conference facing the prospect of a free and reborn Haiti. The unjustifiable grip of brute power which America has had on the throat of a sister republic has been eased at least far enough to allow the Haitians a President of their own choice.

We greet Gandhi and Free India; we hail the struggle of China against enemies within and without. We send sympathy to Egypt. We hold out hands of fellowship to the black folk of East, South and West Africa. We hail the economic independence of the dark people of the West Indies and Central and South America.

On the whole, as we look back over the year, despite its poverty and suffering, its lynching and continued race hate, we find abundant reason for encouragement; we have political power and we can use it. We have one member of Congress and after reapportionment we are going to have more members. We are securing wider recognition in music, drama, art and literature. The area of human and social contact between the races in the United States is broadening, and the question of our civil rights and economic survival is a matter of increasing concern to the nation. Therein lies abundant hope.

Light in Shadowed Lives—The Sight-Saving Class

Among the millions of children attending our public schools there are some tens of thousands who have such poor eyesight that even with properly fitted glasses they cannot see and cannot hope to see well enough to go through school in the usual way. There are others suffering from progressive eye diseases who could only do so at the expense of ruined eyes or eyes seriously impaired. What are such children to do to secure an education?

In recent years, in a few places, special sight-saving classes have been organized. The number is growing rapidly and at the end of 1929, 350, distributed in 95 cities and 21 states, could be counted. But this number seems a mere drop in the bucket when we learn that approximately 4,650 such classes are needed to accommodate the children who should have this special care.

This crying need is being made the chief concern of the Sub-Committee on the Blind and Visually Handicapped, of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, on which the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness is actively represented, and we may expect a stimulus to the movement through their studies and reports.

What are sight-saving classes and why are they so few?

The fundamental problems in sight-saving classes are to save the residue of sight in each child in the class, and to keep him on the same educational level as other children of his age in the regular classes.

There are two types of sight-saving class.

In the first, the children remain through their school life as a segregated group. In the other, they are thrown as much as possible with the normal children of their age. They go to the regular grades for oral work, physical education, or rote singing, returning to the special class for any work requiring concentrated use of the eyes. The latter type of class is growing in favor since it tends to throw the children more nearly into normal life.

Since each child is an individual problem the classes must necessarily be small and as one class usually serves a whole school or perhaps a whole neighborhood the pupils are of all ages.

Though the methods of conducting sight-saving classes are constantly being revised and improved there are certain conditions and certain equipment which are fundamental: Sufficient light for every child; absence of glare from blackboards, desk tops, walls, or books; adjustable seats and desks; typewriters with large size type, and books printed in 24 point or larger type.

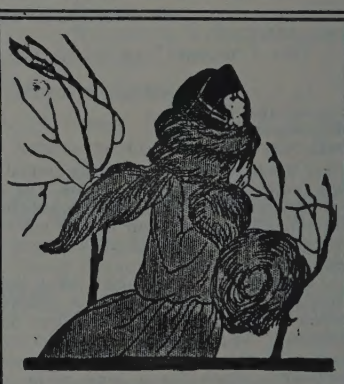
The children are given enough "book knowledge" to supply them with an educational foundation, but no effort is made to encourage in them a love of reading, which in later life could never be safely indulged. Throughout their school career they are being taught how to adapt themselves to their limitations, and how to care for their sight after they leave school. To a certain extent the schools are pre-vocational, and experiments are being tried in making a truly vocational junior high school for children handicapped through poor vision. In Detroit and Cleveland vocations for girls and boys respectively are being analyzed to determine the opportunities they offer. It is sometimes harder for these boys and girls to fit themselves into life than for the blind, since for the latter there is no question of eyestrain, whereas for the partially sighted this is a constant menace.

Sight-saving classes are too few, both because the movement is yet young and the need for them not universally recognized, and because there is a scarcity of teachers qualified to teach them. Courses for the training of supervisors and teachers in this work are being offered in a few but an increasing number of educational institutions. Columbia University, New York University, the Universities of Southern California, Cincinnati, Chicago, and Detroit, and the State Normal Colleges at Buffalo, New York and Ypsilanti, Michigan, are among those offering courses.

A few state departments of education have formulated training requirements. Where the need is urgent, teachers are sometimes prepared for this work by special reading followed by examination, or by training given to the teacher in service by the supervisor. Whatever the training, the prime objects are a knowledge of eye conditions and a flexibility of method that will insure day by day the maximum protection for each individual child.

ALICE F. LOOMIS.
White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.

Phone Oakland 0489 JANITORS' SUPPLIES
Everything in HARDWARE
AT
JOHNSON'S
4236 Cottage Grove Ave.


NOVEMBER
With its brisk, wintry touches, suggests that your furs be at once conditioned for their season of heavy usage. Delicate, skilled and dependable are the processes by which we brush, cleanse, sanitize and prolong the life of the fur garments you entrust us with.
Schumann & Co
Cleaners Dyers
PHONE DREXEL 0231 ALL DEPARTMENTS
MAIN OFFICE AND WORKS
3960 Cottage Grove Avenue